

*C Harrison*  
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L E T T E R

TO THE

Right Hon. HENRY DUNDAS, M. P.

Secretary of State, &c. &c.

O R,

A N A P P E A L

TO THE

PEOPLE OF GREAT-BRITAIN,

BEING

*An ANSWER to some REFLECTIONS*

CAST UPON

"A CITIZEN, whose Loyalty (it was said) was

"only confined to his Razor!"

*In a DEBATE in the HOUSE of COMMONS,*

February 21st, 1794.

Occasioned by an intercepted LETTER,

Signed J. HARRISON, A Sans Culotte,

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ABSTRACT OF

A Trial for an Assault committed on the Author,  
in the Name of

*"Church and King for Ever."*

---

BY CITIZEN JOHN HARRISON, SHEFFIELD.

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L O N D O N :

Printed for the AUTHOR, and sold by J. Smith, Portsmouth-street  
Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; D. I. Eaton, Newgate-street; and may be had  
of all Booksellers in Town and Country.—1794.

[Price Six-pence.]

E R R A T U M.

Pape 15. line 22. for virtuous *read* virtual.



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T O

HENRY DUNDAS, Esq. M. P.

Secretary of State.

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S I R,

**G**REATNESS of mind, added to power, can never be offended with simple truth; whilst it pardons the faults of others, it will, with the same generosity, permit John Harrison (the Sans Culotte) mentioned by you in a debate in the House of Commons, February 21st, 1794, to make his appeal to the People of Great Britain: He feels himself called upon to wipe off a little dirt, which in the course of the debate was thrown upon him (it is said) by Mr. Secretary Dundas.—And as J. H. is only a plain rustic, he hopes his country will not be displeased with his plebeian and artless manner of reasoning.—How far he may succeed in taking off the odium which has been cast upon him, he will with due regard and respect, leave to the good opinion of a great and generous people to determine.—He promises to be brief and plain, as his abilities are not great:—only he wishes first to say,—he is no hireling;—he possesses no place or pension;—has no

four and ten thousands a year squeezed out of the blood and sweat of the labouring part of the people;—no eighty-one thousands a year to squander about to his relations; in short;—he is unbought;—unbiaſſed by any other motives than the good of his country; as all the labouring part of the nation muſt be, who can neither expect places nor penſions! but muſt aſſuredly pay the pipers, even if they pipe to the ruin of the people!!!

Having ſaid thus much by way of a third perſon, I will proceed (by Mr. Dundas's permiſſion) to ſtate ſimple facts, unadorned with fine language, to an impartial Public, without any further ceremony.

The intercepted letter, which appeared in the newspapers, ſent to my correſpondent at Nottingham, was the cauſe of Mr. Dundas's ill-natured remarks on me, and his facetious remarks on that worthy patriotic gentleman Mr. Grey:—I beg Mr. Grey's pardon for uſing his name without his authority; yet I did ſo with the pureſt of motives, the real love to my country; believing this worthy and patriotic Statesman's opinion would have greater weight than any thing I could advance, with every popular patriotic ſociety in Great Britain.

Mr. Dundas remarked that “He (Mr. Grey) had adviſed one of his conſtituents and correſpondents, if he wiſhed to oppoſe the preſent war, by a petition or memorial in favour of peace, that it ought rather to be offered to the Parliament than to the King!”

The truth was, “I aſked Mr. Grey whether a petition ſhould go to the King or to the Houſe of Commons?”

And he answered, “to the Commons, or both!” and gave his reaſons, as he (Mr. Grey) ſtated in the Houſe; but I acknowledge again, did not give me any authority to

*write*



*write* so to my correspondents: however Mr. Dundas may hug himself on the occasion, I wish the Placemen and Pensioners, with all the tribe of tythe and tax, loved their country half as well as that patriotic gentleman (Mr. Grey): I am sure this nation would not have been involved in a war which appears to have only for its object, the butchery of a whole nation! the total ruin of commerce, by shooting our customers! the murder of Briton's sons! and the slavery of mankind! but (Mr. D.) is a placeman!!!

Yet, "it is alledged that the French have forsaken their antient religion; despised the counsels and precedents of their forefathers! and are turned Atheists!" Therefore, if we believe Saint Dundas, Saint Pitt, and a whole tribe of other saints; all tythe and tax-men, &c. why! (according to their politics) we are to cut the throats of the French until we make them restore monarchy, and become good Christians; turn Papists, and restore their good and holy fathers, the priests: Alas! alas! Are these the People's best friends? Or, are these the criers up of our glorious constitution, "Church and King for ever?" But I say nay! are they not the nation's real enemies? and the greatest enemies Church and King ever knew? Are they not Janissaries? and for the sake of holding their places and pensions, do we not see them strangle "Church, King, and "Constitution?"—Mark the speeches of corruption against Mr. Fox, and the virtuous and small Minority in the House of Commons and House of Lords:—and we shall not be at a loss to discover the true friends of the People, from those vain boasters of "Church, King, and "Constitution!" Who are the *Cursers*, and *Sinkers*, and *Damners* of the nation? friends to *Anarchy* and *Confu-*

*sion, Alarmists, and promoters of Riots, in the name of " Church, and King, and Constitution?" but in fact to lull the people into stupid ignorance, the better to plunder and ruin the nation!!!—and these are our best friends forsooth!*

Let me ask the secretary and the apostates in place, of whom I learned my principles of reform; if upon *alarms* of their own *raising*, of *plots* and *riots* of their own *generating*, such as was done when the ministry sent forth the late proclamation, which has made us a nation of spies, and has set man, and his neighbour man, at variance!—I ask, could not corruption suspend the Habeas Corpus act, or proclaim martial law?—or even bring forward such an act as that infamous one passed in Ireland; which has taken away the acknowledged right of the People to meet for the protection of their liberties?—I say, let me ask the Secretary if there is not a corrupt majority in the world, that would pass such wicked laws against the rights of the People? nay I cannot tell but that corruption in Ministers may produce a law to transport me to Botany Bay, for writing this appeal to my country!!!

" That corruption does exist," I take to be a position as true as any problem demonstrated in Euclid! therefore I think it would be a good measure, and a great duty which the virtuous patriots in the House owe to their country, to make their solemn appeal and declaration to the People! And say, " People, you see we have done  
 " our duty;—we have right, justice, and truth on our  
 " side;—but we have been overturned by a tribe of Pen-  
 " sioners and Placemen, who have outvoted us, but have  
 " not outreasoned us!" and enter the same on the jour-  
 nals of the House;—and give the people a list of the  
 corrupted

corrupted Members who voted against the good of the People ;—and annex to each members name the place or Pension he holds under government, and paid by the People ; this would prove a salutary measure.

For sure I am the constitution never intended any Placemen or Pensioners to sit in Parliament to make laws for the People.—If so, what a mockery it must be, when any member of the Commons accepts any Place he is compelled to vacate his seat until he is fixed in such place or office.—Then (to be sure) afterwards he is eligible to be re-elected and resume his seat to make laws ; to levy taxes to pay his pension or office.

Alas ! alas ! what a good constitution for Placemen and Pensioners !

Observe next, Mr. Dundas, “ hoped the conversation “ Mr. Grey had with the Sans Culotte (Harrison,) would “ be a warning to him how he admitted into his confidence a person of that description.”——I would ask this gentleman of what description does he (Mr. Dundas) mean ?—Oh ! I see Mr. Dundas answers,—“ a citizen “ whose loyalty is only confined to his razor.” What ! have I learned my principles of Reform from such dignified masters as the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt—besides, nine thousand gentlemen, called the Yorkshire Association, under the guidance of the late virtuous Marquis of Rockingham, and dare my loyalty be called in question by a Secretary under pay of the People ? I think my loyalty and the loyalty of more than five hundred thousand Patriots are of greater consequence, and better friends to the nation than such Placemen, or the dishonourable Apostates of whom I learned my Principles !



What bloody principles have you (Mr. Secretary) ever discovered in "the Friends of the People?" What wars have we plunged our dear country into, to the waste of the nation's blood and treasure, and to the ruin of commerce? Have we by means of starvation forced the poor into the armies to fight the battles of Despots and Aristocrats, against their own liberties, and the Divine Rights of Mankind? Or, what riots have any of the friends to a Reform either created, fomented, or encouraged in any part of Great Britain? Who stimulated the dreadful riots for *Church* and *King* at Birmingham? Or, let me ask the Secretary again, if he knows who gave the Inniskilling Dragoons, when quartered at Sheffield, their orders when they insulted and abused the peaceable inhabitants, with four officers at their head, by parading the streets with clubs, who knocked down all they could find in the streets; fractured some skulls, and maimed the rest; fifty-two persons; men, women, and children.—All this was done in the *name* of "*Church* and *King* for ever?" Why did the soldiers tell me, and all the town, "that they acted by orders from the Secretary of State, to create a riot if possible, and to put an end to the Constitutional Meetings held in Sheffield?" Why did the Captain say, "d—n them, he wished he might have the killing of a thousand of the d—d Sheffield Blacks, &c?" Thirty or forty thousand of the People assembled next day;—not to riot!—they had been taught better!—but to call upon magistrates and gentlemen of the town, to demand justice against these ruffians. The officers were bound over in six hundred pounds to appear at York Assizes, and the soldiers left the town. I know the Royal Secretary is in possession of the facts, and could give ample information; I wish he would  
lay



lay the whole business of these transactions before the Commons, and clear himself from any imputations on this head!—And behold! these are our pretended best friends, to be sure—and if the People say any thing about liberty;—“ Oh !” “ d—n your eyes, you are a Jacobine!” “ you are a d—d Presbyterian!”—“ you are a King killer!”—“ you want to cut the King’s head off, as the Jacobines have done in France! nay!—you are a “ Republican and a Leveller!” with many such offensive jargons and wicked insinuations, trumpeted forth by the enemies to peace, and friends to ministerial influence!—But we defy all the power of corruption to prove that ever we committed one disorderly action in any part of Great Britain!—we have always proved ourselves the real friends to order and peace!—whilst on the other hand, ministerial corruption has been found to commit many riots and disorders in the name of “ *Church and King for Ever,*”—to the terror of the peaceable inhabitants!

Who then are the true friends of the nation? The Friends of the People, or Harry Dundas and his colleagues? Let the People judge! the nation may see with what integrity the Secretary and his colleagues shun every investigation into their measures! How imperious and contemptuous must that language appear in the eyes of a great People, when a servant of their’s, a Secretary, dare rise with indignity in their House, and say—“ I never “ heard language used, which a Member (R. B. Sheridan) ought more to be ashamed of!”

Thus, (People!) you see with what an high overbearing hand your servants carry every measure against you? With what obstinacy do they persist in the war? And with what art, craft, subtlety and guileful serpentine wisdom

wisdom do they hide and cover themselves under the wings of corruption, from every investigation into their misconduct, or ruinous measures? Remark the Speeches of Placemen and Pensioners on this case! See them brandish the dagger of influence, standing upon corruption, in a boastful attitude, like a Colossus, triumphing and exulting at the victories gained over "the friends of the People;" the sure presage of human woes!

Yet, let them not boast too much in their strength, lest the justice of the People break out like an Earthquake; and not minding their Colossus situation may hurl them with vengeance to the earth as a just punishment to appease the wrath of an injured People!!

Let them remember that the War with America has been damned eternally; and there is very little reason to say, this is more just; or, that after a few more campaigns this War will not be eternally damned also!

If we advert to the Burthens under which the People already groan we find them almost unsupportable! and to look forward and see their Trade ruined;—the Poor starving;—their Sons butchered;—twenty millions of Taxes extraordinary, and still in creasing;—and, if the War be successful, Slavery may ensue! What a picture of distress to a great People! O! for the tongue of a Sydney—a Russel—a Camden—a Milton—a Locke!—nay I would say an Angel! to rouse the People out of that lethargy into which they have been lulled by the base insinuations of mercenary and interested Placemen!!!

Nor shall we succeed better if we turn our Eye to the dreadful Catalogue of Taxes! The National Debt at this moment may be three hundred millions.—The Tythes  
amount

amount to upwards of five millions.—The Poor Taxes have increased to near five millions, on account of the ruin of commerce, and Husbands by means of starvation forced into the Army, and leaving their helpless Wives, or rather Widows and Orphans, to the Parish ! Seventeen millions yearly paid into the Exchequer, and distributed amongst a Tribe who appear to delight in War.—Three millions seven hundred thousand paid Custom-house Officers, and other Collectors. To the above may be added the Corn Bill, which raises the Price of Bread to the Poor, and heightens the Calamities of the People ; and was evidently designed to raise the Property of the Landed Lords of the Earth at the expence of the industrious Poor !—Nay, the Poor must Labour, Fight, and Die, to support this unnatural system ; and yet we are told these Poor Commons (the best, and the most useful part of a nation) must be deprived of their Votes for Members of their own Body : to sit in their own house ; to plead their own cause ; to assist to make their own Law ; on which their Blood and Sweat, their Property for which they Labour ; nay, on which all their happiness or misery, intirely depends !!!

I am sorry, my small abilities cannot say more in fewer words.

But what human heart is there who can view the distresses of the Poor, in all its various calamities, in the times of War and bad Trade, and not be induced to drop a pitying tear at their dreadful and calamitous Situation.—In times of bad Trade a man of Property can or may weather the storm ; but a working man, who has nothing to subsist on but his hand Labour ; a deprivation of his employment only for one week will starve a whole family to *Death*, unassisted by other means ! “ O ! thou friend of man ; better the condition of the human Race”



This gives a convincing reason, why the labouring Poor, should be represented in Parliament rather than the Rich—for the Property of the Rich, will always be an over-balance to the Labour of the Poor.

But to comfort the Poor I hope better times will come, and certainly much in their favour.

I am no Prophet, yet I will now give a prophecy. “I saw in the strength of reason, Satan let loose again.

And behold! “I saw Gog and Magog gather their “Armies together to Battle; and the numbers were like “the locusts which covered the Land of Egypt for multitudes, a very great and mighty Army :

“And they came up and invested the Land of Liberty, “and even gathered about the Free and Holy City “thereof.

“And the Slaves fought mightily against the Sons “of Freedom !

“But I saw until the Slaves were overturned with a “mighty hand; and a very great slaughter, such as was “never known before.

“And I saw that the Slaves could not prevail ; for “the mighty hand of Power was against them.

“And when the Slaves were returned into their own “land, they said, nay ! But we also will have Liberty like “the sons of the Holy and Free city.

“And I saw them prevail over those which had usurped “the government for ages ; and then I saw that the earth “had Peace !!! Which obliged me to cry with fervency “of spirit:

“O ! thou God of the human race ! hasten this happy “time according to thy word ;—for it is written, Nations “shall learn war no more !!!”



It is easy for me to believe this prophecy;—but I am only one; therefore I leave it to the judgment of a great and wise nation. And as to the Sharks;—the Vultures;—the Foxes and Wolves;—the Bears;—the Tigers and Leopards;—the Serpents and Dragons of the Earth;—and the monster Hydra with her crowned snaky Heads;—and every thing that is vile in the creation and hurtful to man, I leave this prophecy to them sealed up for their ridicule; believing as I do, we live in the days of wonder;—and we have beheld with amazement, the greatest Monarchy in the world overturned, apparently by Feeble Means !!!

But quitting these ideas, let us return to the Secretary, where Mr. Dundas will tell us that “ he was sorry to hear, that in discussing the question of Parliamentary Reform, he (Mr. Grey,) was beat by a citizen whose loyalty was only confined to his razor.”

And Mr. Dundas seems to think himself capable of succeeding better, and has thrown the gauntlet. I will not be dismayed; I will accept the challenge; and small as my abilities are, I think them strong enough, in the position of Universal Representation, to be able to attack the whole tribe of interested men;—and surely the Secretary will acknowledge himself beat also, when I refer him to the plan of that Master of Politics, the great Duke of Richmond, “ who declares Universal Right of Suffrage to be the best for the People, and that after the experience of twenty-six years study, both in Place and out !!!”

From this plan I draw the following axiom :

That our constitution knows no power but what is derived from the representation of the People, either real or virtual !!!

But representation is a power in the People, who delegate their powers to a less number of their brethren, to be used by them for the general good of the whole.

Therefore the powers of Kings, Lords, and Commons, derived, and still hold their existence and continuance in this great Principle of REPRESENTATION!!!

I ask Mr. Dundas if he can tell what Power made him a Secretary of State? I think I hear him say, "he received the appointment from the King."—And so do I say, that "the King received all his Power from the People,—for that and better purposes!!!"

But Virtual Representation is universally acknowledged; nay, even by the whole tribe of Tythe and Tax!

Then I reason; if the *virtual* representation be the right of the People, why not the *real*? Does the real representation belong only to a very few, except the tribe of tythe and tax? I am ashamed of this kind of representation! It is high time this corruption was put an end to; and let us have an House of Commons free and independent of the Crown, where the will of the People may constantly, uniformly, and distinctly be heard! And until Mr. Dundas can overturn my plebeian manner of reasoning I shall still consider universal representation as a *great* and first principle of all power; which I call the *Spirit* and *Soul* of our Constitution: or else, as some say "there is no Constitution, it is only a government founded on despotism!!!"

Yet I will say equal representation is the birth-right of every Englishman; and that one part of our fellow-men, has no right to exclude the other; if they do, it is usurpation! This must be the original positive meaning of our constitution; let corruption, custom, or any laws to the contrary

trary, say what it may! If this position be denied; it may be said justly, "we have no constitution;" but only a government of King, Lords, and Commons; and to say, this is a constitution, is absurd.

A constitution, I take it, is an agreement of the People, how they will be governed prior to King, Lords, or Commons; and in that agreement the powers of each are specified and limited, or confined to certain powers, to be used for the good of the People;—but if they, the People, find the powers given to each, inadequate to produce the general happiness of the whole, they must have a right to recur to themselves to amend what is wrong, or what stands in competition with their great designs, and general good; and as the constitution is within the People, (for the People are its law and its majesty;) they must rectify and adjust what the corroding hand of time and custom, or precedents and bad laws, have been rendered inconvenient, or unwholesome!

And no person who loves his country can object to this simple plan! Was this right restored to the People, every abuse of power might be reformed to the good of the nation, without causing the least riot, anarchy or confusion! And all this might be done as quietly as a Vestry Meeting about Parish Business! nor needs any man to lose his life on its account; for every abuse may be done away in harmony, peace and good will to our brother man.—And surely none but real enemies to our constitution, and our dear country, can resist such a salutary measure; for friends to freedom, have always proved themselves to be friends to order and peace;—and I am sorry I cannot say so much for interested tythe and tax men!

But as pensioners and all these selfish interested men seem to oppose the reform with so much ill-blood, it would be  
happy



happy for the nation if the nation was to imprison the Placemen and Pensioners, with the whole tribe of tythe, and tax ; and then I am sure, we may obtain a peaceable, excellent, and grand Reform, equal to the happiness of the People and the good of the human race!!!

“ O ! Thou Friend of Man ! Save our country ! And grant to our Nation and People, such a happy Reform !!! ”

Let us look at representation in another point of view, where persons and property are the object.

The great law of representation must be fixed on one of these two as a principle.

The point being fixed, the mind begins to reason, and is pressed on until it has arrived at some settled point, where it can determine and point out the justest, the plainest, and most simple plan.

If property be made the principal object of representation then all the people are neglected and cast off, except persons of property.

But if persons are the object of representation, that is, universal right of suffrage, then both persons and property will be represented : for representation is a protection of property ; therefore personal representation is the most simple and just.

Again, if property be only represented, then the great mass of the people will have only a virtual representation, which is of no use to them ; and which is really the case at present with about ninety-nine out of a hundred :—Yet the present system of representation neither represents persons nor property ; it is a hodge-podge, or an unshapen mass, and very corrupt.



Property has many great advantages, even if the persons who hold it were not to be represented at all.

Property holds all the necessaries of life in its own hands; it deals out its bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, and clothes to the naked, at its own price. Property ought to be respected; yet it can oppress very grievously; for it is extremely selfish.

Lay a tax on property, it knows how to fetch it back with double ratio. Lay an halfpenny per pound on sugar, &c. and it makes the consumer pay a penny!

It is common in my country for a landlord, who has a number of small houses, to pay all taxes, poor-rates, &c. and the tenant pays an extraordinary rent: I remember a man when a tax of two shillings and sixpence was laid on houses five pounds rent, that he raised his tenants five shillings a year: so it seems whatever is laid on property must fall with double weight indirectly on the industrious poor! then why should they not be fully and fairly represented?

If "the rabble—the wretched, and the swinish multitude,"—are only to have a virtual representation, for God's sake let them have only a virtuous taxation!

Let them be free from tythe and tax!

Let them not spill their blood in fighting the battles of the few, or suffer any calamities on account of the wars of Kings!

But if TAXATION IS TO BE UNIVERSAL, and if it must affect and distress the "swine—the rabble—and the wretched!" If they are to labour, pine, and die for the few, whilst the few are living at ease, and in the greatest degree of luxury and pleasure;—if they are to suffer all the human ills, and to be the only sufferers; sure  
universal

universal representation cannot with any degree of justice be denied them.

Let me ask, what can Mr. Dundas set against this position? "We must oppose these dangerous doctrines, say the tribe of Tythe and Tax, or we shall lose our Pensions and Places!" Ha! there's the rub!

Now, if our servants, whom we pay so very amply, are suffered to scourge us with scorpions; to imprison and confine us; to transport us to Botany Bay, for only speaking and writing our Opinions freely; for meeting together in a peaceable, orderly, constitutional way, to consider and examine if any abuse really do exist in our constitution; or, if our servants, legislating for us, have passed any injurious and oppressive laws that we may resist such corruption by writing and petitioning against it, and to lay the same before the nation for their mature consideration; I say, if we are treated thus; it is high time we should struggle to obtain a reform! And why should our servants prevent us?

We have a right to resist corruption wherever we find it lurking; it is our duty both divine and human! I care not what Pensioners or the interested Placemen say to this position!

And as to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience it is heresy; it is schism; it is a base apostacy from the truth;—it had its origin from some evil lying spirit which had power to deceive and to prevail over the ignorance of man, and enswarced his spirit; subjected his race to the chain, the torture, and to slavery; nay, of all the human ills this side the grave, this doctrine has done the human race the greatest injury.

I hope Mr. Dundas is not above admonition; let us be  
advised

advised then, and resist this dangerous doctrine in future; and let us be like good mariners in a storm, "swim in the deep," and not trust the vessel of state too near the rocks and shoals, lest a tempest come, and we become a wreck:

"O! save our country!"

It is now become high time for Patriots of every description, every where to unite, to arrest the Helm out of the hands of Corruption:—It is now become the duty of Britons to contribute their mite, and unite all their little powers to save their Country from total ruin; and not suffer the vessel of state any longer to be steered by the Power of Corruption:—a power that seems to care only for the Loaves and Fishes, and to preserve which would let the vessel sink!

Therefore all the half Patriots, who want only a partial Reform; and the true Patriots who wish for a full, complete, and radical Reform:—I say, it is high time for all to think of some settled fixed plan of Reform, to save our Country; to deliver Ourselves, our Nation, and People, out of the grasping Power of this Corruption!

Let us view France in what light we please; jaded and surrounded as she is, and rendered furious by an Host of Enemies internal and external; yet we see her hold fast her integrity:—We see her with pleasure emerging from under the black and dark clouds of ignorance and superstition, into the horizon of bright and perfect day!—The leagued Slaves may bribe Factions, and subject many Individuals to their own ruin, when discovered in those Factions; and by their wicked machinations may promote murders, assassinations, and create great calamities in France;—but this country to dream of bribing Factions  
powerful



powerful enough to overturn an enlightened armed nation of twenty-five, or thirty millions of People ;—surely, the weakest mind must see 'tis fallacious :

For I foresee if ten thousand factions arise, one at the back of the other, whenever they prove themselves treacherous, or unworthy the confidence of an Armed People, the nation is able to crush every treacherous faction in all its diabolical plots aimed against that great, steady, and virtuous design of delivering their nation from ignorance, superstition, tyranny, and despotism !!

And to say there is more tyranny under the present Government, than there was under the old corrupt system, must be false ; and is only the fabrication of Royalists, treacherous crafty priests, titled vagabonds, hired assassins, &c. Who say, “ 'Tis a virtue to try and advise “ every wicked machination in their power to overturn “ the present tyranny,” as they are please to term it. It may be so to those few who wish to restore Monarchy, to re-instate themselves in their fat old livings and offices, and to feed themselves fat, out of the labour of the many ; but not so, to “ a true Sans Culotte,” who wishes to deliver his Country from such kind of vermin ?

“ In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,” is the language of truth ! so we can see the badness of these men's hearts, who wish not to “ eat bread at the expence of their own sweat,” but rather that of others, or the many !!

It has been said, “ I was only a Razor-maker of Sheffield, a poor man of no consequence, not very fitly “ calculated to reform a state.”

This is certainly true ; I have not many outward shining parts to allure ; I wish that an honest plain man may  
be



be my highest title and only character! Good sense is not always confined to the titled great; neither is wisdom entailed on pensions and places;—if it be the contrary, I could wish to try a little snug place of about four thousand a-year; it might induce the Secretary, Mr. Dundas, to think better of me; but whether it would give me more wisdom, or more common sense, I have reason to doubt.

And as to my poverty 'tis not to be wondered at—when I say I am without an estate; “without the breeches of” place or pension,” that is, “Sans Culotte,” and had a wife and eighteen children, and the tribe of Tythe and Tax to support for thirty years.

Reckoning the share which each person pays to government from the day of birth to the day of death at *gl. 7s. 6d.* annually,

But wife and self, and 18 children—20 persons.

		l.	s.	d.
Then {	20—6d.	—	0	10 0
	20—7s.	—	7	0 0
	20—3l.	—	60	0 0
	<u>20—3l. 7s. 6d.</u>		<u>£67</u>	<u>10 0</u>

A goodly sum for places and pensions annually!

But what have they paid in thirty years?

		l.	s.	d.
Then {	30—10s.	—	15	0 0
	30—67l.	—	2010	0 0
	<u>But 30—67l. 10s.</u>		<u>£2025</u>	<u>0 0</u>

This is the tax for thirty years.

But this is not all, my wife and self had lived eighteen years in this miserable world of taxation before the last thirty years.

Taxes were then not so high—they were about 2l. per head annually.

But wife and self, two persons would pay annually 4l.

Then eighteen years taxes pays — 72 0 0

To which add the taxes for thirty years 2025 0 0

And it will amount to — £.2097 0 0

I might have shewed my readers how much the interest and principle would have accumulated, added together at the end of every year during the continuance of paying for forty-eight years as above:—but it would be attended with some trouble.—Therefore I shall be contented if the secretary will only order me to be paid back the simple interest annually!

With regard “to my not being fitly calculated to reform a State,” I can indeed say very little on my small abilities:—

However this much I will say, that if I was Prime Minister of my country I certainly would put an end to this “ruinous war;—I would recall the armies;—acknowledge the French Republic;—correct every abuse in Government, by endeavouring all I could to obtain for the People, their right,—a compleat and radical Reform!”

I would “hearken to the Cries;—to the Prayers, and “Petitions of the People!”

I would “hear the cries and distresses of the afflicted “wives, widows, and orphans;” who have been rendered wretched by the sword of war!!!

I remember a family in Birmingham totally ruined by this “just and necessary war;” as it is called by interested men!!

The

The husband of the family had saved about fifty pounds out of their industry—but deadness of trade threw this poor family out of employment:—They lived on this small stock whilst it lasted; and in short, the husband was driven to that distress, to ask relief of the Parish.—The poor man was told, or it was remarked before the man by some Church and King-men present, “ that he was a very “ able bodied man, and that the King wanted soldiers;— “ if he would enlist he might get a good bounty;—be “ useful to his country,—and then they would take care “ of his family:”—which was a wife and five small children!!!

The consequence was the man enlisted in despair, and had fourteen guineas, the price of blood, paid down.

The poor man goes home, gives his wife the money;—telling her with tears in his eyes “ it was all he could “ ever do for her, &c.”—She (poor creature) starts in surprise, both at the words and money; and with wild looks of sorrow and emotion, or disturbance of mind;—exclaims “ in the name of God, where hast thou had this,” (meaning the money.)

He, poor man, could not explain; his heart was full; he makes an excuse to go somewhere; went out of his house, and put an end to his existence!!!

The poor woman’s situation may be better imagined than described; all the passions of nature working in a violent manner within her produced a heart-breaking sorrow, which brought on such decay of strength and appetite, that she at last fell a sacrifice to a fever, died, and has left her children, orphans, to the care of the parish of Birmingham!

I need



I need not comment on this story, but leave the human heart, or even the tribe of Church and King to make its own reflections: this is not a trump-up story to deceive the passions, it is the language of truth: nor is it the only tale of sorrow in Birmingham—no, nor in many other places: I know Manchester—Stockport—Sheffield—Leeds—Halifax—Derby—Nottingham—Leicester—Coventry—Norwich, and some other towns can furnish us with too recent instances, and tales of sorrow and woe! occasioned by the War!!!

But what care the gilded ruffians for all this? War must go on!!!

These calamities come not near courts; neither do they come within Kings' Palaces; or, enter into the secret chambers of an apostate Minister; nor do they prevent a Secretary from crying out,

*"Who wants me?"*

Neither can these distresses of woe affect the Church and King Clubs.

I have a letter in my possession from Manchester, dated Feb. 1793, "That the gentlemen of the town were resolved to shut up their shops against the able-bodied men, to starve them into the service, and the gentlemen are recruiting serjeants, beating up for soldiers, walking in procession round the town, and, by a subscription from the Church and King Club add Three Guineas to his Majesty's Bounty." These are times of woe!

Can Mr. Dundas say, on what principle they can be justified?

Again it would seem I must be reproached, because "I am only a razor-maker;"—I am sure no person can make better razors than I do, nor more unexceptionable—  
for

for there was "God save the King," on one side, and, "Long live the King," on the other.

The Prince of Wales saw some of the same make at Newmarket in October, 1790.

The Prince did not become a purchaser, 'tis true, which I much wished; but then, the Prince sent his very obliging thanks for the favor of letting his Royal Highness have a sight of the workmanship: although I received no other encouragement or marks of a Prince's favor than thanks; and those thanks were not very valuable, paying for nothing at the Inn. Yet I think those thanks of approbation from the Prince will secure me from any reflections cast on my "loyalty," "my poverty," "my trade," or "my razor," by Mr. Secretary Dundas:

For I am sure my razors are legal; that is, loyal.

And as to my principles, I am willing to contend them with the Secretary, at the bar of our own House, the Commons!!!

My trade I will say is an honest trade; and more so than the trade of Tythe and Tax—or the trade of priestcraft and statecraft;—although I acknowledge it is not so beneficial!

St. Paul, the Apostle of Liberty, tell us "that if any man would not work, neither should he eat:"

It seems "there were some busy bodies in his day, which walked, or lived amongst the people disorderly, working not at all:" yet not so bad as the few in our days, living on the labour of the many!

"Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread."

Hence we learn, that none of the pensioned tribe has any right to eat bread out of the labour of the People, let their titles amongst men be ever so high, except they labour for the advantage of the People, and earn their wages justly and honestly; nor even then can there be any advantage and utility arise to the People to pay any of their servants such extraordinary wages as ten hundred thousand; one hundred thousand; eighty thousand; sixty thousand; thirty, twenty, eighteen, ten, eight, six, four, three, two, &c. thousands a year for the doing of little or nothing; besides a great quantity of lands, parks, palaces, &c. Dukedoms, principedoms, and ever so many Dom's: besides the many fees in the respective offices of Judges, Bishops, &c. &c.

I remember hearing an anecdote at Birmingham, concerning a Noble Duke high in Office, of whom it is said, "that there is not a beggar in the streets of London that can warm himself at a fire, but what must contribute to raise a sum to the Noble Duke, of upwards of twenty thousand per year:

The story goes, that the noble Duke, at the commencement of this inglorious war wished to lower the wages of the armorers in Birmingham, and those in the Tower:

It seems the workmen at Birmingham had fourteen-pence for stocking gun-barrels, whilst they in the Tower had sixteen-pence for the same work:—But the design was to reduce (the workmen under a Mr. Gill) to do the same work for a shilling, and the Tower-men to that of fourteen-pence!

However, the workmen in Birmingham struck;—and on account of the dearness of the necessaries of life, were  
more



more inclined to raise their wages \* than to lower two-pence at every fourteen-pence they should earn; which would be giving a gun in every seven; or giving a shilling for every six. I wish the Pensioners and Placemen would do so; I think they might stand to be mulcted three-pence in the shilling *better* than these poor workmen!

The Duke made the necessary inquiry what the workmen could earn by working hard every day; and his Grace found that the workmen could afford very well to scone every seventh gun; with this graceful declaration, "that nine shillings per week is enough for any working-man

\* Here, a most pernicious conspiracy of the Few against the interest of the Many! Mark the baseness and unjustness of that law which allows a combination of the rich to attack the labour of the industrious poor in every instance, with all the crimes of highwaymen, thieves, robbers, and freebooters, and will not admit that the poor shall combine to protect and defend their labour against the avarice and depredations of the rich!—"If the poor combine for this purpose, it is called felony by the law;" and you may be transported! But if the rich combine to raise the price of corn, &c. or to lower the price of labour, it is called a virtue! a national advantage! but is the greatest benefit to themselves; that is, only to the rich!

Query; Is it not as much a national advantage, that the industrious poor should be paid well for their labour, as for the rich to amass all to themselves, and pay little or nothing for labour?

Or, Would it not be an advantage to the nation, for its riches raised by industry to flow freely into the hands of the many, rather than raise a power of oppression, and confine them in those of the few?

Or, Should not the industrious many possess every advantage to get wealth, rather than the idle drones who have no inclination to labour, but to live on the produce of the many?

“ to live upon; and if he had more he would only spend  
 “ it and neglect his work.”

If I were to add my sentiment on the Duke's humanity:  
 “ I wish sincerely that his *Grace* might have no more to  
 “ live upon !”

“ For with the same measure ye meet to others, it shall  
 “ be measured to you again :” which is to be proved !!!

Had I abilities, I would shew in the strongest and  
 clearest point of view, the partiality which is always ob-  
 served by these gilded few, in rewarding themselves on  
 every trifling occasion :——

For instance, suppose any of these gilded butterflies,  
 or these Don Quixotes, &c. were to fight a battle, stand-  
 ing out of all danger, to the ruin of their country; for they  
 always take care to place in the posts of danger, the swine,  
 the wretched, and the rabble :——

And although these nick-named few, whose lives are so  
 very precious as to be worth so many thousands of other  
 sorts of men; if they *do* suffer in these rencounters,  
 hunger, thirst, and death, it is but very partially ! For  
 who would not lose his own life to preserve such inestima-  
 ble, precious jewels ?—Yet we behold no uncommon phe-  
 nomenon, when we see them reward each other with titled  
 nick-names, Pensions, and Places, and from the bravery won  
 by the inferior race, or the many; until such robbery of  
 the people may amount to some thousands and millions a  
 year; to be paid by the sweat and labour of the many, or  
 the People !!!

But if “ the swine, the wretched, the rabble, or the  
 “ many;” after suffering all the human ills, death ex-  
 cepted; and worn out in the service of the gilded few; or  
 escaped with the loss of a limb or two;—a pension of  
 about

about eight pounds a year is thought to be a very ample satisfaction, or a very great reward to any of these poor *ignorant* men : and he seems to be an happy man who can even obtain this small reward : as we can see numbers who are turned destitute and neglected by these gilded myrmidons ; and thrown upon the generous Public, to beg their bread in the streets of our nation ; to the great scandal of our glorious constitution. This affords another argument for a Reform in Parliament on the great principle of Universal representation !

But to return again to the Secretary ;—Mr. Dundas remarks, that “ he (Mr. G.) must be convinced that “ his friend (I. H.) upon this occasion has proved himself “ unworthy of his confidence !” This seems to convey an insinuation as if I had really misrepresented Mr. Grey’s conversation :—but this sarcasm cast on me, by Mr. Dundas, I will simply say is not true or just ; misrepresentation may be the practice of Secretaries of State, Ministers, &c. but is not the designed intention of a true *Sans Culotte* to misrepresent any thing ! And I am willing to appeal to the candour and justice of that patriotic gentleman, Mr. Grey, whether I am not in this case right.—All the blame that can be imputed to me is, I wrote the substance of a conversation with a gentleman, and made use of his name without his knowledge,—and how have I “ proved myself unworthy of his confidence “ in all this ?”

I am blamed for using the word *Sans Culotte* ; which means with me, “ A Lover of my Country !”

“ A promoter of love and good-will amongst men !”—  
“ A friend to Freedom !”



I am no no Frenchman;—and it is said the word means “without breeches!” yet I think it contains a greater meaning than this;—viz. “without bribery! without corruption! no traitor to his country!” like the Aristocrats, and Infatuated Priests in France.

Thus, every impartial mind may see, according to my explanation of this word, and as I think it so used by the French nation at this moment, it was easy for me to subscribe myself “A Sans Culotte.”—The followers of Christ were first called “Christians at Antioch,” in derision, and to tell a man at this day he was no Christian, might be now termed an insult; yet, if this term is offensive to my country I will subscribe it no more after I have done with Mr. Dundas!!!

I have said I had been blamed for calling myself “A Sans Culotte;” but were I to give a vocabulary of the names of titles, dignities, and all those who claim an unlimited power, or have exalted themselves, and usurped a Government over their brother man ever since the creation;—and if it were possible to place before us at one view all the plunders, rapines, and murders committed against the human race by these dignitaries, &c. for the space of near six thousand years;—or could we count the numbers of our fellow-men (in that space of time) who have fallen victims to some titled vagabond;—butchered in battles;—murdered in cold blood;—suffered under the most horrid invention of tortures;—driven to the greatest degree of hunger, thirst, and all kind of wretchedness to satisfy the ravenous greedy appetites of these titled beasts of prey; I say, if we consider all this in our vocabulary, it would change the signification of those words used to express dignities amongst what the world calls “The most  
most

\* most holy and anointed ones of the earth; or the suns, " the moons, and the stars, &c."—And by the word

POPE, We should mean, a forcerer, a dealer in witchcraft, a man of sin, a destroyer of the human race, a beast of prey, the father of the inquisition and of priestcraft, and receiver of tythes under the Gospel—a great wolf in sheep's cloathing, &c.

EMPRESS would signify a she wolf, supposed to be bred in the North, a devourer of human flesh, a swimmer in human blood, a thief, and a stealer of nations and people!!

EMPEROR would signify a wolf of the male kind, a despot, a robber, a butcher, a destroyer of the human race, &c.

PRIEST would signify a collector of tythes; a lesser kind of wolf in sheep's cloathing; but very fierce when it seizes its prey!

MONKS AND FRIARS would signify a cage of unclean spirits; venomous beasts, &c. &c.

PRIESTCRAFT would signify witchcraft; forcery; necromancy; wickedness, &c.

*Wicked Ministers and Secretaries of State* would be unclean, evil, lying spirits, in the form of frogs; deceivers of the people; destroyers of trade and commerce; makers of widows and orphans \*; starvers of the poor; apostates; common butchers and dregs of a nation; deadly enemies to man!

\* At Birmingham only, between 15,000 and 16,000 have been drawn from the manufactories for soldiers; a number past all belief, if it was not fully proved by being enrolled on the Magistrate's Journal.

Query! how many widows and orphans are made out of that number?

ELEC-

ELECTORS would signify Esau's children who sold their birth-right for a mess of pottage:

*Priestcraft, Statecraft and Pope*, are said to be "a monster \* which comes up out of the earth, and has two horns like a lamb; when he speaks it is always like a dragon!!!"

This beast does great wonders !

He exercises great powers !

He makes fire come down from Heaven on earth in the sight of men !

He deceives them that dwell on the earth, by the false miracles which he has power to do !

He causes all, small and great, rich and poor, bound and free, to receive a mark in their right hands, or in their foreheads, and cry out,

" CHURCH and KING for ever !"

Nor will he permit any person to buy and to sell, except they carry the mark or the name of the beast to the market !

He causes many of the human race to be killed by the sword ; he is very voracious, and delights to drench himself in human blood !

He intrudes himself into all governments on the earth !— He tells us, " He is Heaven born ;" although we are sure his birth was from beneath !—

He vaunts with swelling pride when he " declares " himself to have a divine and legitimate right to reign " over all nations, languages and people, wherever found, " on the face of the whole earth ! ! !"

\* Pope, may be the beast ; Priestcraft and Statecraft, his two horns.



Nay; he with dragon's voice declares; "that the race  
 " of man were formed for his pleasure; and it is the duty  
 " of man to advance his glory, wealth and grandeur, at  
 " the expence of their united labours!"

The earth may be said to tremble, and the mind of man  
 receives a shock as with electric matter, when it hears  
 his indignant voice say,—“Ye swinish multitude! ye  
 “ illiterate herds! ye rabble of Scotland, and wretched of  
 “ Ireland, with all your raggamuffin blackguard crews!  
 “ ye have no rights at all but to labour for us; be content  
 “ and happy under our benign clemency, and think your-  
 “ selves well off that we spare a few crumbs and dry  
 “ husks which fall from our tables to feed on, whilst you  
 “ labour for us to supply all our pious purposes! Remem-  
 “ ber that it is your duty to provide us with all the good  
 “ things of this world; and that ye do not touch them  
 “ yourselves; for they belong only to us! This is our  
 “ decree, see that ye forfeit not our displeasure, &c. &c.”  
 Thus in language plural he always speaks! Because he  
 has power to fetch out of himself a very great number;—  
 a mighty host;—even Gog and Magog—two mighty ge-  
 nerals, are within him!

He is a wonderful beast of monstrous size, with nume-  
 rous joints and limbs!

He has power to multiply, move, and extend his limbs  
 over all the nations on earth at one and the same time!

He arrogates to himself, and his pious limbs, all qualities,  
 excellencies, titles, dignities and virtues that can be  
 formed on earth or in Heaven;—which appear to an en-  
 lightened mind, something like blasphemy against the most  
 high!—such as his pretended power of infallibility, or ex-  
 emption

emption from error in judgment, over all nations, and people, &c.

He assumes the titles of "Holiness;—God's Vicegerent on earth;—the Vicar of Jesus Christ;—the Holy Keeper of St. Peter's Keys;"—pretends he has power to bind and to loose in Heaven and in Hell; and has power to forgive sins, like the most High!

Again, he says, "he is the most Christian; the most illustrious, the most serene Highness; the most august, the most Catholic Majesty;—his Grace; the Right Reverend Father in God;—the High and Mighty Lords; the Shadow of God; the Father of the Sun and Moon; the Father of his People;—the Defender of the Faith." What faith? Why! the faith of the Beast, which is always to destroy, to render wretched the human race!!!

For this beast always defends the contrary qualities, and never hearkens to the petitions of the People, except it suits his own glory, advantage, and wicked purposes!!!

But what is most remarkable in this monster—he contains seeds within himself, called war and corruption, which have a power, or quality, in themselves to weaken his reign; and will in time, under a divine power, intirely destroy his kingdom;—and then the earth will enjoy the blessings of peace; man will then have no enemy in his own likeness, and a common cry will be put in the hearts of all People, that the Lord God and Samuel may reign, and not this monster!!!

*Vox Dei Vox Populi!*

A generous People will pardon me for undertaking to describe what they must perceive, my pen is not equal

to perform; I acknowledge my inability, therefore will leave it to abler hands.

I have only drawn some of them imperfectly; for if it was possible to draw the whole of this wonderful Beast (as I perceive him to be the mystery of iniquity, Antichrist;) I do think St Paul's cathedral would not hold all the records of him, from his commencement over man to this present time; and if I should be wrong in my ideas, I hope Mr. Dundas can set me right.

The following are the reasons given by the Patriotic Societies in Great Britain, why they did not immediately comply with the request, To petition against the War.

“CITIZEN,”

“We judge it best to let the war go on,—although we suffer, and our calamities are very great indeed, on account of the badness of trade, and the dearness of the necessaries of life; it will make the People think by what they feel!!!

“Besides, it can do no good to petition at present, until corruption can command less majorities!

“Do we not see a whole tribe of Placemen and Pensioners overturn every measure tending to the good of the People?

“And what good can we expect from the virtuous few in both Houses, struggling as they are, under such a weight of corruption, until the People are more enlightened?

“Do we not behold Barracks erected over the whole nation in every populous town?

“Do we not see our own People sent abroad to be slaughtered;— whilst we behold with sorrow at heart subsidized Hessians, Hanoverians, &c. brought amongst us, and corruption declaring it constitutional to continue them in the nation?—Thus are our throats exposed to the German Butchers!!!

“I am, Citizen, &c.

“A Friend to the human race.”

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That



That Pensioners, Placemen, and those interested in tythe and tax, are enemies to the People we need not to doubt; whilst true Patriots are the nation's best friends, nothing is so sure!

To prove this we only need to advert to the behaviour of each party.

We see an haughty Aristocracy pursue with cruel and unjust prosecutions humble Democracy, with an unrelenting fury and ferociousness, equalled only by the most ravenous beasts, pursuing with hideous yell, under the pressure of Hunger!

Here we view Democracy stand undaunted, armed with no other weapon but virtue and zeal for his country's good: receiving and sustaining with manly courage and patience all the various assaults which that haughty tyrant Aristocracy can inflict:—And although unable to extricate himself from the jaws and claws of this tyrant monster, yet Democracy bears the struggle and his sufferings with such a manly fortitude, as not only to do honour to his country, and the cause of the People in which he is made a sacrifice; but his virtue and courage even intimidates his enemies and covers them with eternal shame and infamy!!!

Were we to read the Trials of Messrs MARGAROTT, GERRALD, PALMER, SKIRVING and MUIR, we are immediately struck with admiration, wonder, love, and pity: and the mind is raised to the greatest sublimity when it views their exalted virtue to their country; their manly courage; their calm behaviour. For more dignified characters and greatness of soul never (perhaps) appeared at the bar of any Court in Great Britain!

And who can behold their cruel and unjust sentence of transportation for fourteen years without having a mind filled

filled with rage, indignation, and contempt, on the one hand; whilst compassion weeps for their unhappy sufferings on the other?

Corruption tells us, "that these virtuous Patriots were " guilty of sedition; therefore their sentence is just!!!"

But what is sedition? Is it sedition to say, that the People of Great Britain are not fully, fairly, and adequately represented in the House of Commons? And that about seventy or eighty persons form a majority there, by means of borough influence? Or, is it sedition to say, that corruption can always obtain a very large majority under the present system, and can carry any measure against the interest of the People?

Or, is it seditious to say, that a reform in Parliament is necessary, and the sooner it is done the better for the People? Or, that Universal Right of Suffrage and Annual Parliaments are the best for the People?

If this be sedition! I will live and die in this faith;—I will continue to preach this doctrine to the end of my days, undismayed by any power of corruption;—and this sedition, with my great masters in politics, the Duke of Richmond and William Pitt, may be engraven on my tomb!!!

I have not been without some little sufferings on account of this sort of Patriotism for my country!

I have been taken from a peaceful company; struck several times with a chair; dragged to prison; brought before the magistrates without a warrant; or without specifying any crime; and my apartment forced and plundered!!!

Judge Ashhurst's Speech to a packed Jury, tells me, "that our laws are as equal to the poor as to the rich."

But I have tried the Courts of Justice, and can find no redress:

Therefore, I am ready to prove at the bar of the House of Commons, (and should be very glad to have the favour) that the Courts of Justice are shut against me, and "that our laws are not equal to the poor," &c.

But I will thank those in power; those dispensators of the laws and justice; even the Secretary and Mr. Pitt, if they will assist me to obtain ample satisfaction for the illegal seizure and violation of my person and property; which was done in the name of "Church and King for ever!"

However, as I am not likely to obtain justice, I will insert my case more fully;

I am, Mr. Dundas,

A SANS CULOTTE,

In the way of my own explanation of the term,  
"A Lover of my Country, A Friend to Freedom."

Sheffield, April 16,  
1794.

JOHN HARRISON.



## WARWICK SESSIONS,

October 8th, 1793.

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**AMIDST** a very crouded and respectable court was tried a cause very interesting to the liberties of the People of this country, and points out the absolute necessity of a Parliamentary Reform.

It was for the most daring assault we ever remember being committed in this country, and to go unpunished.

This assault was committed by Thomas Wooldridge (and others) keeper of the dungeon, Birmingham, on the person of John Harrison, the 20th of March last, "*in the name of Church and King for ever!!!*"

"Mr Romilly, the council for the Plaintiff, opened the business by a very able and learned speech;—He went fully into the case, and shewed that, although his client had only indicted for a common assault, yet it was the most special and extraordinary,—heightened by the most daring and wanton acts of cruelty and insult,—marked with the greatest degree of hatred and malice he ever remembered, which called loudly for exemplary punishment. And what heightens the crime of the Defendant (Thomas Wooldridge) is, he was a servant of the magistrates of the town, who was keeper of a prison in Birmingham, into whose care are committed, by the said magistrates, all persons offend-  
ing

ing against the laws; therefore ought to have known his place better than to have acted in so daring a manner without law, or orders from his superiors.

“ But, contrary to his well-known duty as an officer or a servant, acting by order of magistrates;—What does the Defendant (Wooldridge) do? Why! he, of his own authority assumes a power higher than a prince, collects together a banditti armed with clubs, &c. sallies forth in a riotous manner to the Hare and Hounds, in Hill-street, Birmingham, where the Plaintiff and others had retired to spend the evening in a room there, which they had engaged for that purpose. The Defendant (Wooldridge) and his party enter this room;—Wooldridge begins a quarrel with the Plaintiff in the most extraordinary manner ever known, by damning him, and pretending he had put his chair on his, the Defendant’s, foot.—Hereupon Wooldridge, without any provocation but this of his own making, took up a chair, struck the Plaintiff with it three or four times, and threw it at him with all his force; afterwards the Plaintiff was dragged by two of the Defendant’s party across the room, and down the stairs, and hauled along the streets as a murderer, &c. and put into a prison, into a dismal, dark, damp cell, to the danger of his life, kept there all night, not a friend admitted to visit him; treated with the greatest degree of insult and contempt; brought before the magistrates without a warrant, or without producing any crime, where he was of course honourably discharged, having done no offence against the laws of his country.”—

“ The council then requested, that the minds of the jury might be delivered from every kind of party prejudice;—and that he hoped he had an English jury before him, that  
could

could think for themselves, and would attend seriously to the evidence delivered at the bar.—And that if he proved the facts,—he had no doubt in the jury before him, but that they would give a faithful, true, and impartial verdict in favour of his client;—and that by their verdict, such unexampled outrage and injustice, committed by the Defendant, might receive such adequate punishment from an English jury, that would at once hold out to the nation their impartiality and justice to the terror of evil men, and to the protection of the injured.

“The council wished next, to state to the jury, that his client was an advocate for a Parliamentary Reform; (although this question, he said, had nothing to do with the cause before them;) yet, because his learned friend on the other side would endeavour to prejudice their minds against his client on that account;—and that he knew his learned friend would not suffer him to reply; he would state also, that his client was president of a constitutional society for information;—and these societies are not only perfectly legal and innocent, but may create a union necessary to redress the grievances of the people, by petitioning Parliament or the King.—And the council called upon any authority to declare that such associations are illegal who do orderly and peaceably meet to inform themselves of the abuses and corruptions crept into the government of their country, and to petition against them:—for this is perfectly legal, and is founded on the liberties of the people, the constitution of this country.

“The council then said he would just mention another circumstance, which had appeared to him very strange indeed;

“This cause for the assault was tried against other persons



sons last session, and the persons were acquitted, notwithstanding Joseph Lindon and Robert Hopkins were proved, by good evidence, to have been with the Defendant on the 20th of March last: But what defects of evidence were perceived by that jury that could warrant an acquittal on just grounds he should not then enquire: yet he was sure if he proved the facts against the prisoner at the bar they could not acquit him, without shewing manifest injustice to his client, and proving to the nation at large that justice was fled from her jurors: Therefore, he would say, they had nothing to do with that verdict at all, it was not to influence their minds in the least degree, they were only to attend to the evidence produced at the bar, and to give a faithful and true verdict, according to that evidence, and their oath just taken."

The council then called John Harrison.

And he deposed, "That he was at the Hare and Hounds, Hill-street, Birmingham, on the 20th of March last;—that a little after 10 o'clock in the evening, Thomas Wooldridge and about eight other persons came into their room very disorderly, and apparently drunk: That Thomas Wooldridge, who was captain of this banditti, began to stir up disorder, by saying to this deponent, "G—d d—n you you Jacobin Rascal, &c. what did you set your chair on my foot for?" when this deponent declares he had never moved his chair at all.—Hereupon Wooldridge took up the chair and struck this deponent three or four times, and then threw it at this deponent with all his force: this deponent was then dragged across the room, and down the stairs, and hauled along the streets, and forced into a dismal, dark, damp cell, shut out from his friends; for friends were not admitted to visit him; kept there all night; all his letters and papers

taken from him,—also his great coat, to starve him in his cell; permitted no fire to warm him;—denied pen, ink, and paper, so that this deponent could not let his friends know his situation.—Also, used in a sneering, taunting, insulting, degrading, and contemptuous manner: Wooldridge called out to this deponent in his cell, “how do you like your lodging, you d—nd Jacobin Rascal? you deserve hanging, hanging is too good for you, &c. &c.”

Mr. Harrison on his cross examination said, that he was President of the Constitutional Society for political information at Birmingham.—That he had learned his principles of Reform from the Duke of Richmond and William Pitt, and the Yorkshire Association, under the guidance of the late virtuous Marquis of Rockingham.—That no crime, whatever, was laid against this deponent before the Magistrates at the Public Office, Birmingham.—That if the Duke of Richmond and William Pitt were to be seized by the collar, dragged along the streets like a thief, forced into a prison, and made to stretch their limbs on a bed of straw; and if they could obtain redress this deponent would endeavour to obtain a remedy by the same law.—That when Wooldridge struck this deponent with a chair he guarded off the blows, so that his arms only were hurt.—That he got a cold in the Prison, which gave this deponent a very bad hoarseness that continued upon him for four months.—That the Magistrates requested to keep this deponent's Papers until they had examined them further, (for ten days:)—that this deponent was requested by Mr. Carless to appear again within that time, if they, the Magistrates, should want him; and he Mr. Carless would deliver up the Papers to the deponent after that time, which he did:—That when this deponent asked for pen, ink and paper,

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he was answered by Robert Hopkins, servant to Wooldridge, "that he had wrote enough already, that he should never write more he was such a d——d Jacobin."—That Thomas Wooldridge called his servant Robert to lay hold of this deponent, and that this deponent was dragged to prison by Robert Hopkins and Joseph Lindon, a Publican; that these two men searched this deponent and took away all his letters and papers; and also took his pen-knife, lest (as they said) he should cut his own throat."—That Thomas Wooldridge told this deponent the next morning, March 21st, that he (Wooldridge) had given orders to search this deponent, and to take all his papers, &c. from him.

Here an altercation took place between this deponent, Mr. Digby, the Counsel for the prisoner, and the Court;—It appeared, that Joseph Lindon, publican, who keeps the sign of the Minerva in Queen-street, Birmingham, and Robert Hopkins, servant to Wooldridge, the prisoner at the bar, &c. had been tried for the same offence in July Sessions and acquitted; but how justly let men of reason judge! and Mr. Digby was then counsel against the assault, as it appeared on Mr. Harrison's cross-examination:

This gave the counsel the assurance to say, "that Mr. Harrison had given his evidence different, or that it varied very much from his evidence given on the 16th day of July last:"—Here Mr. Harrison, (with a becoming spirit) called for the Journal of the last Sessions, and desired the evidence might be read from the minutes which was taken down by the very same respectable chairman now on the bench: for this deponent insisted that his evidence at this time and last did not vary three words in substance:

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The chairman on this request, respectfully acquainted the court, "that the notes called for on this assault, tried last Sessions, were not in his power to produce, as he could assure the court they were not in existence; for those notes were not preserved !!!"

Mr. Digby, however, was then obliged to submit to the power of truth, which always is good evidence, if it does not always succeed!

This deponent remarked further on his cross-examination here, that he was prevented on the last sessions from pleading his own cause, although this deponent was disappointed in his counsel.

Mr. Digby (the then counsel for Lindon, Hopkins, &c. prisoners at the bar, July 16th last past;) insisted that this deponent (Mr. Harrison,) being only a witness, had no right to plead his cause at that bar; and the counsel took the sense of the court upon that question, and the deponent, J. H. was over-ruled; of course this deponent was informed that he must only answer the council's questions simply, with a Yes; or, a No;—so this deponent said that he was not admitted then, to give his reasons why he said yes; or why he said no!

Another remark this deponent made on this remarkable trial,—

That this deponent's evidence was endeavoured to be very much crippled the last sessions, July 16th, on account that Wooldridge, the now prisoner at the bar, did not chuse to come to trial on that sessions: Therefore, every witness was interrupted, and ordered not to speak any thing about Wooldridge, as he was not on his trial; and yet it was a plain case all the truth could not have been told without adverting to this prisoner's riotous conduct in the assault!

Mr.

Mr. John Kilmister was next called,

And he corroborated the same facts; That he saw Wooldridge come first into the room, followed by about eight other persons; that this deponent heard Wooldridge cry out, "you G—d d—nd Jacobin Rascal, what did you set you chair on my foot for;" and that he saw Wooldridge strike Mr Harrison with the chair three or four times, and then threw the chair at him with great violence:—that Wooldridge called Bob to assist Lindon the publican, in dragging Mr. Harrison down stairs, &c."

On this deponent's cross-examination by the opposite council, he said that he was secretary to the Constitutional Society for Information in Birmingham; that there had been a meeting of a part of the society that night; but business was over before 10 of the clock, and all the people gone except seven persons;—that when this banditti came into the room it was after 10 o'clock:—that he knew Wooldridge to be the keeper of the dungeon;—that this banditti were armed with clubs, &c. that after Mr. Harrison was dragged away, Wooldridge began to abuse and strike Anthony Tittley and Jonathan Cosgrove: that neither Mr. Harrison nor any of this deponent's company did give the least offence or make the least resistance: that Wooldridge behaved very ill, and appeared in liquor.

Anthony Tittley was next called, who followed very nearly the other two witnesses; the only place where we find them vary, was with respect to the chair: this deponent said (on his cross-examination) "that when Wooldridge cried out, you G—d d—nd Jacobin Rascal, what did you put your chair on my foot for?" Mr Harrison's chair did not move at all, until Thomas Wooldridge had pulled the chair from under him: that when Wooldridge

dridge had pulled the chair from under Mr Harrison; Wooldridge then struck him with the chair three or four times with great violence, and threw it at him with all his force. Here the council for the Plaintiff did not think it necessary to call any further evidence; although there were more in Court.

Mr. Digby then got up, who was council for Wooldridge, the prisoner at the bar: But he appeared to be evidently in an embarrassed situation on account of the clearness of the witnesses; he made some observations on the nature of the evidence, and endeavoured to make them disagree, and suffered this clear case to go to the jury without calling one witness in defence of the prisoner at the bar:—The council rested much on the verdict of the jury on the last sessions; and hoped this jury also would acquit his client.—This council however acknowledged, “that such  
“societies had a right to associate for the purposes of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform as long as they maintained  
“order and peace;—and that people meeting together to  
“petition Parliament, or the King, was undoubtedly legal  
“and constitutional.”

The chairman of the court without summing up the evidence submitted the whole in a very short manner to the jury, who after being puzzled with this clear case for about an hour, were obliged to be locked up without fire and candle, or any thing to eat or to drink;—and being in this situation for about two hours, more or less, brought in their verdict **NOT GUILTY!** So of course Thomas Wooldridge was acquitted of assaulting John Harrison at Birmingham on the 20th of March last.

“GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE!!!”



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